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AUTHOR Nadal, Kevin L.
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ABSTRACT

This paper uses a nonlinear, six-stage ethnic identity development model to promote proper therapeutic treatment of Filipino (Pilipino) Americans, introducing the terms panethnic assimilation and ethnocentric consciousness in relation to the Filipino and Asian American communities. After examining the social, cultural, economic, and mental construction of the Filipino American community as compared to the pan-Asian American community, the paper hypothesizes that Filipino Americans will experience a different ethnic identity development than their Asian American counterparts and thus cannot follow any previously developed identity stage models. The six-stage model includes ethnic awareness; assimilation into the dominant culture; social-political awakening; pan-ethnic Asian American consciousness; ethnocentric realization; and incorporation (developing a positive and comfortable identity with consequent respect for cultural/racial heritages). The paper concludes by discussing the importance of therapists understanding the level of acculturation when working with Filipino Americans. It notes that subjects will advance through the stages of the model in a progressive manner but may occasionally jump back and forth between stages. (Contains 20 references.) (SM)

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"Pilipino American Identity Development Model"

Kevin L. Nadal

Michigan State University

209 Bessey Hall

East Lansing, MI 48824

nadalkev@msu.edu

517) 353-5210 (daytime)

517) 432-2962 (fax)

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Abstract

A non-linear six-stage ethnic identity development model is discussed to promote proper therapeutic treatment of F/Pilipino Americans. This manuscript introduces the terms "panethnic assimilation" and "ethnocentric consciousness" in relation to the Filipino and Asian American communities.

"F/Pilipino American Identity Development Model"

Various researchers have proposed several models that address racial and ethnic identity in Asian Americans. Sue and Sue (1971a) developed their models based on Chinese Americans, while Kitano (1982) developed his model based on Japanese Americans. Currently, one of the most widely-used Asian American identity models was created by Kim (1981) whose research is based on third-generation Japanese American women. With over thirty different national origins included in the Asian/ Pacific American category in the United States, it seems illogical to homogenize the identity development of this group into one model. Lee (1991) concurs with this sentiment and suggests that the generalization of Asian American identity development is too "population-specific." Although the racial/ethnic identity models developed for Asian/ Pacific Americans constitute an essential contribution to the literature, they fail to account for the wide intragroup variance that exists in this population. For example, it is very unlikely that the Chinese American experience will parallel exactly to the Indian American experience or the Samoan American experience. There is enough heterogeneity in the Asian Pacific American community for researchers and mental health professionals to analyze specific ethnic subpopulations within the larger racial category, in order to assess their experiences and identity development most accurately. The purpose of this work is to specifically address the specific adjustment of F/Pilipino Americans.

Historical Background

F/Pilipino Americans are different from other Asian Americans in a variety of ways. First of all, if race is based on skin color and physical characteristics, it is important to understand that F/Pilipino Americans identify themselves as being "brown" and not "yellow," as their Asian counterparts would (Ignacio, 1976). In fact, during the "Yellow Power Movement" during the Civil Rights Movement, F/Pilipino Americans separated themselves from their Asian American counterparts, by forming a "Brown Asian Caucus," to signify their rejection of the term "yellow" and their embracing of the color "brown" (Ignacio, 1976). If F/Pilipinos are to be classified in this

panethnic Asian category, then Asian America cannot be classified by skin color. F/Pilipinos are physically and identifiably brown.

Culturally, F/Pilipino and F/Pilipino Americans are different from other Asians and Asian Americans. Their background is a mix of aboriginal Pilipino roots, combined with Spanish and American cultures, along with traces of Muslim, Pacific Islander, and Indonesian influence. Rabaya (1971) asserts that, "as a result of Spanish and U.S. colonial rule, the cultural orientations of the Filipinos differ markedly from those of the two dominant Asian groups in the United States- Chinese and Japanese Americans." The mix of cultural values in the Philippines can definitely attribute to its ethnic uniqueness. In fact, there are two major differences between Asian culture and Philippine culture. First, there is a strong Catholic presence in the Philippines, which can be accredited to the Spanish rule of the Philippines for over 400 years. Agbayani-Siewert (1995) reports that over 80% of Filipino Americans are Catholic, without including the number of F/Pilipinos who are Christian. Because of this Catholic/Christian-based culture, F/Pilipinos will share many of the same cultural values as Hispanic/Latino Americans (Espiritu, 1992). Moreover, F/Pilipinos will share more cultural experiences with Latinos who are Catholic, than they would to Asian Americans who are Buddhist or Hindu. Secondly, Philippine culture thrives on a very gender-free society. Pido (1986) notes that, "Filipinos give recognition, deference, and opportunities to any family member, regardless of sex, who shows potential to increase the family's status and position." Unlike their Asian counterparts, F/Pilipino women are not taught to be submissive or passive. They are taught to excel in education and leadership, similarly to their male equivalents. As a result, F/Pilipino Americans also respect this gender-equal value, in which both men and women are encouraged to be political leaders, professionals, and entrepreneurs.

Sociocultural Factors

The sociocultural experience of F/Pilipino Americans is very distinct from their Asian American counterparts, due to a variety of factors including a lower socioeconomic status, specific

health concerns, educational barriers, and marginalization within the Asian American community. The recent White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders revealed, "Filipino youth have one of the highest high school dropout rates and one of the highest rates of teen suicide ideation and attempts" (http://www.aapi.gov). In addition, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1994), native-born Filipino Americans had a college graduation rate of 22%, in comparison to 51% of native-born Chinese Americans, 34% of native-born Japanese Americans, and 36.5% of native-born Korean Americans. Moreover, Okamura (1998) has suggested that when F/Pilipino Americans are classified as Asian Americans that they "have been denied access to equal opportunity and affirmative action programs, particularly in higher education, despite being underrepresented as both students and faculty." As a result, the admission rates of F/Pilipino Americans into the university are dramatically decreasing. In 1996 at the University of California Los Angeles, only twenty-six percent of the 1377 Filipino American applicants were admitted, becoming the lowest admission percentage for all ethnic/ racial groups. At UC Berkeley for Fall Semester 1996, a mere sixteen percent of the 979 F/Pilipino applicants were admitted, resulting in the lowest rate for all ethnic/ racial groups and well below the overall admission rate of twenty-five to thirty percent (Okamura, 1998). By keeping F/Pilipinos in the pan-Asian racial framework, F/Pilipinos are not being seen as an underrepresented high-risk minority group, but are being falsely identify as a part of the "model minority" Asian American phenomena.

Community health is also a significant factor with F/Pilipino Americans. There are several health concerns that are drastically affecting F/Pilipino Americans, and not their Asian American cohorts. According to the Filipino Task Force on AIDS (2001), HIV/AIDS was the leading cause of death for American-born male Filipinos between 25-34 years old in the state of California (http://www.ftfa.org). HIV/AIDS was also the second leading cause of death for all Filipino immigrants in the state. In fact, Filipinos have the highest percentage of HIV/AIDS in the Asian Pacific American community, contributing an astounding 32.4% of total number of reported Asian

Pacific HIV/AIDS cases in California. (Chinese Americans, who ranked second, produced 14.3% of the total amount of HIV/AIDS cases). Because Asian Americans are not being targeted as at-risk AIDS populations, F/Pilipinos are not being properly educated on safer sex practices.

Along with HIV/AIDS, according to the National Center for Health Statistics (1998), F/Pilipina American and native Hawaiian women have the highest rates of unintended pregnancy out of all Asian Pacific ethnic groups. Thirty-nine of childbirths to native-born F/Pilipina American women were out of wedlock. Compare this to a mere 11% of Chinese Americans and 16% of Japanese Americans. The amount of unintended childbirth may be an outcome of the dominant Catholic influence of F/Pilipinos and their belief in the immorality of abortion. Nonetheless, the continuation of unintended pregnancies may result in a lower socioeconomic status and an overpopulation of F/Pilipino American community.

Mental health issues also specifically concern the F/Pilipino American community. Tompar-Tiu (1995) cites "in spite of significant population growth, little is known about the mental health needs and concerns of Filipino Americans." In her study on the prevalence of depression in F/Pilipino Americans (both foreign and native born), her findings revealed that twenty-seven percent of the community sample was found to have a major depressive episode or clinical depression of varying severity. The prevalence rate for this particular F/Pilipino American sample was significantly higher than the U.S. general population, which is usually reported as ten to twenty percent.

Other health issues are also well known within the F/Pilipino American community. Issues such as eating disorders, sexually transmitted infections, and drug use are commonly prevalent in F/Pilipino communities across the nation, but topics cannot be commented on because of the lack of research done specifically on F/Pilipinos. Because of the panethnic Asian American paradigm, particular F/Pilipino health issues are being overlooked and disregarded.

Marginalization in the Asian American community has also led to a distinct F/Pilipino American identity and experience. As the largest ethnic group in the Asian Pacific American category, F/Pilipinos continue to be underrepresented in outreach funding or leadership positions in the Asian American community. Thus, F/Pilipino Americans have taken steps to remove themselves from the panethnic Asian American framework. In 1988, the successful lobbying of California Senate Bill 1813 resulted in the "[requirement for all] state and personnel surveys or statistical tabulations to classify persons of Filipino ancestry as Filipino rather than as Asian or Hispanic… With this bill, Filipino Americans can reap affirmative action benefits independent of the Asian American grouping" (Espiritu, 1992). F/Pilipinos have finally realized that their social concerns and issues were not recognized in the Asian American community. Therefore, F/Pilipino communities have initiated their own advocacy groups, in places where there is a more visible F/Pilipino community, like California or New York. In fact, in compliance with California Senate Bill 1813, most major colleges and universities (i.e. UCLA, UC Berkeley, UC Irvine) in the state will recognize five minority populations- 1) African American/ Black, 2) Hispanic/ Latino, 3) Native American/ Alaskan Native, 4) Asian Pacific American, and 5) F/Pilipino American (http://www.ccc.uci.edu). F/Pilipino Americans must be recognized as their own ethnic group, in order to secure the appropriate representation in higher education and public health.

Pilipino-Specific Counseling Methods

Because of this unique experience of Filipinos, Enriquez (1992) coined the term "Sikolohiyang Pilipino" or "Filipino Psychology," citing specific concepts and methods, in dealing with Filipinos in general. Some of the core values of Enriquez' Filipino Psychology are the following:

1) **kapwa** (fellow being). As the core value of the Filipino personality, *kapwa* is not used in opposition to the self and does not recognize the self as a separate identity. Rather, *kapwa* is the unity of self and others and implies a shared identity or inner self.

2) **hiya** (loss of face or shame). The goal of the Filipino is to represent her family in the most honorable way possible. The Filipino will avoid *hiya,* at all costs, sometimes resulting in the inability to recognize mental problems and/or the inability to fail.

3) **pakikisama** (social acceptance, the achievement of status and power, and getting along with the group). The Filipino will thrive on acceptance of those surrounding her, always wanting to be a collective member of the group or community. She will also be encouraged to gain status and power, through education, entertainment, or politics. The Filipino will be mentally-at-best, when she is socially accepted and socially celebrated at the same time.

Enriquez cites the most effective counseling techniques of **pagtatanung-tanong** (asking around)- a relatively non-reactive, naturalistic technique based on informal inquiries adapted for research. He also includes the **pakapa-kapa** method, a generalized approach to problem solving in which the therapist proceeds as if she were in a state of total ignorance.

It is important to understand that Enriquez's work is based on Filipino subjects (subjects that were born and raised in the Philippines). Filipino Americans will relate and value many of the traits mentioned above, but because of their presence in the U.S., the significance of these values are dependent on their acculturation level. Therefore, it is important that we recognize the different cultural levels of F/Pilipino Americans in the United States. F/Pilipino Americans who are more enculturated will connect most closely to the values mentioned in Sikolohiyang Pilipino (Filipino Psychology). At the same time, F/Pilipino Americans who are more assimilated will more than likely relate more to Western/European psychology than to its Filipino counterpart.

In addition to utilizing Enriquez's Filipino Psychology, it is important to realize that F/Pilipino American clients will not be responsive to the models and techniques used in Asian American Psychology. Atkinson et al. (1978) explains that "research indicates that Asian American clients seem to prefer and benefit most from a highly structured and directive approach rather than an

insight/ feeling-oriented one." However, Okamura and Agbayani (1991) rationalize that "since Filipino cultures emphasize the importance of social acceptance and emotional closeness, therapists need to be more personable when working with Filipino Americans than with some other Asian American groups." F/Pilipino and F/Pilipino Americans cannot continue to be inappropriately assessed as Asian American clients. We cannot apply traditional Asian American psychology onto F/Pilipinos, simply because they are socially, culturally, and racially different. Therefore, we also cannot apply Asian American Identity Development to F/Pilipino Americans either. They will have a specific identity development that will be very similar to Asian Americans, but will take a distinct course and progression.

Hypothesis

Now that we understand the social, cultural, economic, and mental construction of F/Pilipino Americans as different to the pan-Asian American tradition, the writer of this manuscript hypothesizes that F/Pilipino Americans will experience a different ethnic identity development than their Asian counterparts. As a result, F/Pilipino Americans cannot follow any of the identity stage models presented by Sue & Sue (1971a), Kitano (1982), or Kim (1981). They must possess an ethnic identity development model that is uniquely distinct from any other ethnic group.

The development of this stage model is being proposed as a result of the marginalization of F/Pilipino Americans in the realm of psychology and society as a whole. It is a declaration of the need to recognize F/Pilipino Americans as a unique racial/ethnic group, whom cannot go unnoticed any further. It is a call to end the convenience of racial categories, particularly when dealing with cross-cultural psychology, multicultural education, or cultural diversity.

The Pilipino American Identity Development Model

This manuscript introduces a progressive six-stage model to be known as the Pilipino American Identity Development Model. Adapted from Atkinson et al.'s Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (1998), and Kim's Asian American Identity Model (1981), this is the proposed

model of what native-born/ second-generation F/Pilipino Americans will undergo in their ethnic identity formation in the United States. The model is meant to be non-linear and sequential, and will not be completed by every F/Pilipino American. None of these stages should be seen as negative or positive, but should be utilized in order to understand the acculturation levels of the F/Pilipino American, for more accurate and appropriate therapeutic or psychological practice.

Stage 1: Ethnic Awareness

This stage begins at the child's earliest memories (generally 2-5 years old). If a child has a strong family background and a noticeable surrounding Pilipino community, this stage will endure longer than others. The parent at this stage attempts to teach her children of the importance of Pilipino culture- through food, dance, dress, music, or in an attempt to teach her native language. Children in this stage will have an impartial view of Pilipino culture because it is the only living culture that they are aware of. They do not attend school; hence they are not independently exposed to alternative worlds around them.

1. *Attitudes and beliefs towards self*. Positive/ Neutral. The child is proud of her family and surroundings, hence is happy with herself.
2. *Attitudes and beliefs towards other F/Pilipino Americans*. Positive/ Neutral. The child has a positive view of other Pilipinos, primarily since they are the only noticeable group surrounding her. She enjoys the accent of her parents, the food that she eats, and the color of her skin.
3. *Attitudes and beliefs towards Asian Americans*. Neutral. The child is somewhat indifferent to other Asian children, simply because she has a minimal concept of race or ethnicity. She merely knows she is F/Pilipino but does not understand its meaning or importance.
4. *Attitudes and beliefs towards Other Minority Groups*. Neutral. Again, since the child has a limited concept of race, she has no positive or negative feelings towards any other racial/ ethnic group.

5. *Attitudes and beliefs towards White/ Dominant Group*. Positive/ Neutral. Although she may not have much contact with the dominant group at this stage in her life, she is accustomed to seeing them on television or viewing pictures of them in books. Because of this, the child will begin her development of a positive view of the dominant group.

Stage 2: Assimilation to Dominant Culture

Pilipino Americans at this stage are distinguished by the preference for dominant cultural values over their own. This stage can begin as early as five years old and can possibly continue for a person's entire adult life. Sue & Sue (1998) defines the conformity stage in the Racial/Cultural Identity Development (RCID) model as: "Lifestyles, value systems, and cultural/physical characteristics most like White society are highly valued while those most like their own minority group's are viewed with disdain or are repressed." Specifically in Pilipinos, this can be triggered by the need to be "light-skinned," which is considered to be a cultural honor in the Philippines (Root, 1997). Along with that, the continual realization of a White-dominant American society will entice the Filipino to strive towards Whiteness and assimilation.

1. *Attitude and beliefs towards self*. Negative/ Self-Depreciating. Physical characteristics of the F/Pilipino American will be denied, changed, or despised. (i.e. A Filipina may try to wear make-up to lighten her skin). Behaviors, cultural values, and cultural traditions are embarrassing and shameful. The F/Pilipino will also be embarrassed of anything that makes her stand out from the rest (i.e. her parents accent or language, her mother's home-cooked food, etc.) She will no longer want to eat mom's authentic chicken adobo, but will now prefer spaghetti and meatballs or peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. Along with that, the F/Pilipino will attempt to assimilate to dominant culture in every possible way. (i.e. The Filipina will talk in her most proper English accent, without slipping a Pilipino word or mannerism).

2. *Attitudes and beliefs towards Other F/Pilipino Americans.* Negative/ Group-Depreciating. Majority cultural beliefs and attitudes about minority groups are held in this stage. She will embrace or internalize stereotypes and beliefs that the dominant culture possesses. (i.e. She will not verbally oppose a peer who mocks her mother's accent, a classmate who taunts her native food, nor a friend who insults other Filipinos).
3. *Attitudes and beliefs towards Asian Americans.* Negative/ Group-Depreciating. The F/Pilipino will hold the same beliefs about Asian Americans as she does about her own ethnic group. However, it may even be a bit more discriminatory, in that she is taking on the dominant culture's view of Asians as "Orientals," or "foreigners."
4. *Attitudes and beliefs towards Other Minority Groups.* Negative/ Discriminatory. Because the F/Pilipino has adapted the beliefs of majority culture, she will not want to be affiliated with any minority group at all. She will adopt discriminatory views and behaviors, in an attempt to push away herself from "minority status."
5. *Attitudes and beliefs towards White/ Dominant Group.* Positive/ Group-Appreciating. At this stage, the F/Pilipino believes that the White race is superior and standard. Members of this group are "admired, respected and emulated" (Sue, 1998). Therefore, she wants nothing but to blend in with the beautiful White/ Dominant culture. She wants to have blonde hair and blue eyes. She wants to marry someone who is White and "beautiful." She wants to be admired, respected, and emulated, and being White is the only way to achieve this.

Stage 3: Social Political Awakening

This stage was coined in Kim (1980). She describes it as an "adoption of a new perspective, often correlated with increased political awareness." This stage occurs in the pinoy/pinay when he/she begins to realize the social injustice and racial inequality of the world around her. This can be triggered by a racially prejudiced experience (i.e. being taunted with racial hate words, being

followed around in a store, or being racially insulted by her White friends) or simply by an education or enlightenment (i.e. having a thought-provoking conversation with someone or taking an Asian American history class). Nonetheless, this is when the previously assimilated F/Pilipino begins to realize that she can never rise to the standards of Whiteness. The primary result is an "abandoning of identification with White society and a consequent understanding of oppression and oppressed groups" (Kim, 1980). The F/Pilipino at this stage may be seen as "angry." She will be perceived as being an "angry minority," very defiant and rebellious to anything that symbolizes conformity or assimilation.

1. *Attitudes and beliefs towards self.* Positive/ Self-Empowering. The F/Pilipino will feel a sense of community involvement and a call to duty. She will feel embarrassed for all of the time that she had spent in the Assimilation stage, and will try to make amends by becoming more socially or politically aware.
2. *Attitudes and beliefs toward Other F/Pilipino Americans.* Positive/ Group Empowering. The pinoy/pinay will feel the need to encourage others of her same group to feel the same way as she. She will become frustrated towards other F/Pilipinos who are not community-active or who are assimilated to White culture.
3. *Attitudes and beliefs toward Asian Americans.* Positive/ Group Appreciating. The F/Pilipino will begin to form allegiances with other Asian Americans. She will begin to find common similarities and bond with individuals who feel the same way that she does.
4. *Attitudes and beliefs toward Other Minority Groups.* Positive/ Accepting. Similarly to her attitudes towards Asian Americans, the F/Pilipino will seek other individuals who have been oppressed like her. She is internally attempting to make amends for all the negative beliefs that she had once thought before.
5. *Attitudes and beliefs toward White/ Dominant Group.* Negative/ Discriminatory. At this stage, the F/Pilipino is very angry at the superiority of White culture in our society. She

is instantly prejudiced of every White person she encounters, and attempts to discriminate them in the same way that she had been discriminated against once before.

Stage 4: Panethnic Asian American Consciousness

This is a very unique stage specifically for F/Pilipino Americans. Because F/Pilipinos are racially classified as Asian Americans, F/Pilipino Americans are socialized to believe their role in the Asian American paradigm. In this stage, F/Pilipinos will take ownership of themselves as "Asian." They will join Asian social and community groups, in an attempt to find similarity and power in numbers. For F/Pilipinos in regions where there are a lot of F/Pilipinos, this stage will not be as significant. They will accept the Asian American identity as a means of coalition, not as a term of identity. For F/Pilipinos in regions where there are very few F/Pilipinos, but a more visible group of pan-Asian Americans, the F/Pilipino will identify with the broader term "Asian American," in order to feel more accepted, more of a belonging, and more of a community. This can possibly lead to **panethnic assimilation**. While ***assimilation*** can be defined as "The process whereby a minority group gradually adopts the customs and attitudes of the prevailing culture" (American Heritage Dictionary, 2001), ***pan-ethnic assimilation*** can be defined as the process whereby a minority group gradually adopts the customs and attitudes of their *socially constructed racial culture.* This would be exemplified by a F/Pilipino who calls himself "Asian" instead of (or before) he calls himself "Filipino." Similarly, a Mexican American who identifies himself as "Hispanic" instead of (or before) he claims the term "Mexican" or "Chicano," would also be panethnically assimilating into a Hispanic culture.

1. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Self.* Positive. The F/Pilipino sees herself as a member of a greater pan-ethnic group. She is proud of herself as a cultural being, and enjoys her role as an Asian American.
2. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Other F/Pilipino Americans.* Positive/ Accepting. The F/Pilipino still feels the empowerment as she did in the previous stage, but now she

understands her role in a centralized "Asian" sense. She feels a connection to her fellow F/Pilipino group members, but feels a similar connection to her fellow Asian American group members.

3. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Asian Americans.* Positive/ Group-Appreciating. The F/Pilipino is very proud to be an Asian American. She will have friends of all Asian backgrounds and will feel a strong connection to all of them. She will advocate for the issues and needs of Asian Americans as a whole (i.e. Asian American studies, Asian American representation in the political system, etc.)
4. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Other Minority Groups.* Positive/ Accepting. The F/Pilipino will still have a positive and accepting outlook on other minority groups, but will direct more of her compassion specifically towards other Asian Americans.
5. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards White/Dominant Group.* Negative/ Discriminatory. The F/Pilipino will still have negative views on White society, still being prejudice and angry with every White person she encounters.

Stage 5: Ethnocentric Realization

This stage is also distinctly unique to F/Pilipino Americans (and possibly to other marginalized groups in society). This stage is triggered by an event (either negative or positive), which helps the pinoy/pinay to understand that she has been wrongly classified in the Asian American paradigm. She has become aware of the marginalization of pinoys and pinays as Asian Americans, and she has been educated on the social injustices and invisibility specifically to F/Pilipinos in American society. Any number of events could trigger this stage. Some examples may include a discriminatory experience or comment by an Asian American, a thought-provoking conversation or lecture, the reading of a Filipino book or watching a Filipino movie. Again, the Filipino may be seen as "angry," but even more angry, because now her anger is directed not only to

the dominant culture, but to the entire society around her. She does not want to be marginalized or neglected any longer. She wants herself and her community to be recognized and understood.

1. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Self.* Positive/ Self-Empowering. The pinoy/pinay is again self-empowered, but now her quest is to specifically advocate for the needs of her F/Pilipino people. He/She thinks of him/herself now as F/Pilipino or F/Pilipina, not as Asian American.
2. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Other F/Pilipino Americans.* Positive/ Group-Empowering. The pinoy/pinay in this stage wants to encourage other F/Pilipinos to reach this stage too. He/she may cause controversy because other people who are not at their level will not agree with their change of identity. The Filipino wants to spread the ideals of pinoyism/pinayism (Filipino American empowerment) to every F/Pilipino American that he/she encounters.
3. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Asian Americans.* Neutral/ Group-Depreciating. Factors such as the number of Asian American friends that the pinoy/pinay has (as well as the situation that has triggered this stage) will determine the attitude held towards Asian Americans in this stage. If the stage was a reaction to a social or political injustice against F/Pilipino Americans by Asian Americans, then it is more than likely that the F/Pilipino will have negative outlooks on Asian Americans during this stage. If the stage was a reaction of a self-realization and if there were no negative Asian American experiences, then the Filipino's outlook on Asian Americans will more than likely be neutral or even positive.
4. *Attitudes and Beliefs towards Other Minority Groups.* Positive/ Group-Empowering. Because of a possible negative outlook on Asian Americans in this stage, the F/Pilipino will try to establish closer bonds to his/her African American and Latino counterparts. He/ she will begin to see the historical and cultural similarities of these

groups, and form strong allegiances with them. Particularly with Chicano/Latino communities, with whom F/Pilipinos share many cultural values and historical parallels, the F/Pilipino in this stage may then feel connected and accepted into the Latino/Hispanic Diaspora. At the same time, F/Pilipinos may begin to pledge allegiance to their Pacific Islander correspondents (i.e. Samoans, Native Hawaiians, Guamanians, etc.) who have also been marginalized in the Asian American racial category.

5. *Attitudes and beliefs towards White/ Dominant Group.* Negative/ Tolerant. The pinoy/pinay is too occupied trying to be recognized as his/her own people that she does not have the energy to be discriminatory towards other groups. In fact, she feels the need to educate her White counterparts of the uniqueness of F/Pilipinos, in order to advance the separation of F/Pilipinos from the Asian American paradigm. She is not accepting of all White people however. She is very selective of whom she can trust and who will be receptive of her.

Stage 6: Incorporation

Kim (1981) defines this stage as the "highest form of identity evolution. It encompasses the development of a positive and comfortable identity… with consequent respect for other cultural/racial heritages. Identification for or against White culture is no longer an issue." For the F/Pilipino American, this stage includes all that Kim mentioned above, but is specific towards F/Pilipino American pride, gratification, and appreciation. She will be most satisfied of her culture, but will able to appreciate all other racial backgrounds as well, including White Americans and Asian Americans. She will no longer see her placement in the Asian American category as a completely negative factor, but will continue to advocate for the needs for herself, her Pilipino community, and for social justice as a whole. She will encourage other pinoys/pinays to reach her same level, but will be respectful and patient if others are spending more time at earlier stages. She has developed from

her ethnocentric realization into a constant **ethnocentric consciousness**. The American Heritage Dictionary (2001) defines *consciousness* as "A sense of one's personal or collective identity," or "Alertness to or concern for a particular issue or situation." The American Heritage Dictionary defines *ethnocentric* as "centered on a specific ethnic group, usually one's own." Hence, *ethnocentric consciousness* is simply: A sense of one's personal collective identity, centered on a specific concern for the issues and situations of one's specific ethnic group.

1. *Attitudes and Beliefs Toward Self.* Self-Appreciating. The pinoy/pinay here is very satisfied and pleased with who she is and the stages she had to advance through to get there. She is no longer self-empowering and "angry" as she was before, but has instead learned how to deal with that anger in a proactive, positive manner.
2. *Attitudes and Beliefs Toward Other F/Pilipino Americans.* Group-Appreciating. The pinoy/pinay in this stage is very accepting and supportive of all of her community, despite their stage of identity development. She will encourage each pinoy/pinay to reach her level, but will remain enduring and respectful at all times.
3. *Attitudes and Beliefs Toward Asian Americans.* Accepting. Again, the attitudes at this stage will vary, depending on the actual trigger from stage 4 to stage 5. If the F/Pilipino in this stage had a negative experience with the Asian American community, then she will more than likely be "accepting" or "tolerant" of other Asian Americans. However, if the F/Pilipino did not have a negative experience with Asian Americans, then she will more likely be more "positive" and "accepting" of other Asian Americans. Nonetheless, the F/Pilipino is no longer angry. She is interested in the social justice of all people.
4. *Attitudes and Beliefs Toward Other Minority Groups.* Positive/ Accepting. Again, the F/Pilipino in this stage is very positive and accepting of other people who have been oppressed. She is committed to diversity and multiculturalism, with the goal to end social and political injustice in the world.

5. *Attitudes and Beliefs Toward White/ Dominant Group.* Selective Appreciation. The F/Pilipino in this stage will have a "selective appreciation" of whom he/she can trust in the dominant group. She will not be racially discriminatory against White Americans, but it will take practice and experience in order for her to regain that trust and faith in the good of all people.

Implications for Counseling and Education

It is important to understand the level of acculturation in working with F/Pilipino American clients. If a therapist is unable to notice the difference between F/Pilipino Americans and other Asian Americans, let alone not understand the concept of F/Pilipino identity, then it is a strong possibility that she will wrongly assess the client. In such a situation, the therapist's lack of knowledge or unwillingness to learn will lead to improperly treating the client and diverging from the clients' therapeutic success or happiness.

There are a few key points that need to be made about the model. First, the model is non-linear, meaning that subjects will advance through the stages in a progressive manner, but will occasionally jump back and forth between stages. (For example, if a client is in the Ethnocentric stage, but lacks a community to support her in that stage, then she can possibly fluctuate back to Panethnic Consciousness or Assimilation). Second, it is important to understand that some people will not progress through all of the stages. Depending on their environments, surroundings, and influences, clients may remain in certain stages for the entirety of their lives. (For example, if a client lives in a predominantly White community, she may dwell in Assimilation for her entire life). Thirdly, it is important to realize that it is not the duty of the counselor/ therapist to help a client progress through these stages. The counselor/ therapist may challenge the client to think in different perspectives, yet should not and could not force the client to advance to any other stage. The evolution of a client's identity development needs to be self-realized and self-actualized. If a client is

being told or coerced into a higher stage, then the stage advancement is erroneous and will result in the instability of identity.

In utilizing this model, it is important to be aware of the sensitivity that accompanies it. Many F/Pilipino Americans are very conscious and passionate about their ethnic identity. For example, those that are panethnically assimilated did not see anything wrong with such a concept, while those that had reached ethnocentric realization were very angry at their roles in the Asian American framework. Hence, it is very important to realize that there is a definite diversity in the F/Pilipino American community. In the same way that therapists cannot assess or treat all Asian Americans in the same manner, they cannot assess or treat all F/Pilipino Americans in the same manner either. This holds true for any racial/ ethnic/ underrepresented group, including minorities, women, homosexuals/bisexuals, disabled, etc. We must observe that by beginning to study and understand the uniqueness of minority groups within minority groups, we can progress towards accuracy and therapeutic success of all members of society.

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